2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

463 A specialist exercised his craft as his part of the family work and
421 was excused from other labor. He supplied the family with as much
512 of his product as was needed, for use and gifts and the rest he traded
His product might be considered individual property in that no one but he had the right to dispose of it and that payment was made to him personally. But he gave the payment to the family just as the younger members gave their labor and if he gambled his products, he gave the family the winnings. Papago needs were such that the family unit required the full time labor of all its members and few thought of operating independently.

421 The family owned very little permanent property, the food which
512 was obtained and consumed every year, constituting almost its entire capital. Such other goods as they had were managed for the benefit of all by the heads of the two working groups: the patriarch for the men, his wife for the women. The patriarch directed the building of a new house or camp and traded when necessary for house posts or stone for tools. It was he who decided on gifts of agricultural produce or meat though he might consult with his wife. The wife managed the use of household mats, pots and baskets. When more were needed, she either had them made in the household or traded for them with womens' goods. She decided on the distributions of cooked food and the harvest from the womens' food gathering. Relics of this system can still be seen in the careful way in which the modern Papago family often separates "man's money" and "woman's money" the woman paying for household goods with her baskets and the man for his saddle with home made rope.

422 Since Kino's time, the Papago have begun to own cattle, at first
[462] in the lands near Mexico, later in the north. Cattle are in charge of the men, like house building and agriculture and their care is directed by the family head. He usually delegates one of his sons as cowboy, just as in former times, one was the hunter. If there are few cattle, the one cowboy may take charge of the cattle of several related families who in turn give produce to his family but not to him personally unless they are very modern.

Each individual had, as his personal property, the scanty clothes he wore, the tools and weapons used and probably some paint and gambling sticks. The whole equipment could be carried on his back, as a girl's was when she went to her husband's house. But more important was ceremonial property: the shaman's plumes, the animal fetish of the curing singer, the eagle feathers, sea shells or Apache scalp won by the "ripe man". These were the most personal of all property for no one but the owner dared touch them —

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

some said, look at them. Nevertheless, they brought blessing to the whole household since it was unthinkable that the owner's fate should be separated from that of his family group. 422

To some extent, this blessing was general good luck but the owner of a fetish also earned food by it. The owners of the purification and the curing fetishes were all empowered to cure certain ailments and, for this work, they received their meals. "Thus you will feed yourself" was the regular encouragement given them at the purification ceremony. But the shaman had the rank of a specialist with a highly paid craft. In fact, it was paid out of proportion to all other services so that he stood alone as the one person whose income was great enough to make him independent of the family. This independence, so contrary to the social scheme, must have contributed to the fear in which the shaman was held. 422 [illegible] 756 465

Songs and ritual were also individual property. The owner of a dreamed song could work magic with it and receive a meal just as he would if he helped harvest a field. But he could not sell it. Such a song, to have magic, must be dreamed by the singer and people resorted to many expedients to convince themselves that they had dreamed a song. But pay was not one of them. Ritual was not dreamed but was handed down in families, the current practitioner choosing his heir from among the eligible males. Reciters of this sort of ritual had the function of priests and were not renumerated. 424 424 428

Much Papago property was destroyed and buried at a death. The house was burned if possible, but the heavy posts being hard to obtain, the thatching was sometimes burned and the posts moved. The clothing, paints and tools of the individual were buried with him, also food and water and as much more equipment as could be spared. A man might have a buckskin and a woman a jar or two. Fetishes and shaman's equipment were not buried but kept by the family. 768 764

Arrangements have been changed in recent years since the Papago have owned more property. The house, now of wattle and daub, is never destroyed but those who keep to the old customs at all, often bury large amounts of property with the corpse, buying new saddles, clothes and canned goods for the purpose. A man's horse, which had something the status of a tool that he used, was often killed at the grave, though not now.

Cattle are considered family property and distributed to the children. They should, logically, be mens' goods, since their care belongs entirely to the men but modern life has brought no corresponding womens' goods and, in the instances known to the writer daughters have received cattle as well as sons. But customs, in this 768 428

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

oak country to gather acorns. In August another variety of wild greens was ready to eat, and, finally, in September the prickly pear ripened. 222

Without domesticated animals, the Desert People depended on wild life for their meat, which they dried and stored or ate fresh. All through the year the hunters went out after bighorn sheep, deer, peccary, and rabbits. 224

This was a way of life in which everyone had to work in order to eat. Someone had to sow the seed or protect the crops while others were gathering wild plants, and, while some of the family were gathering acorns or saguaro fruit, others might be off hunting. And always there was the work at preparing food for eating or storage, making clothes and utensils, and the general business of keeping a family going; small wonder that industry was thought of as a cardinal virtue, for the lazy man would starve and bring others to the verge of starvation. Nor is it surprising that families were strongly cohesive, that they included people other than father, mother, and children, or that babies were welcomed. The more hands, the more co-operative work, the more food. We shall see later that these values remain powerful factors in Papago society today. 461

FIRST WHITE INFLUENCES ON PAPAGO TECHNOLOGY

When Father Kino came up from Mexico in 1700, he brought cattle and horses, oxen and wooden plows, wheat, peas, lentils, and *garbanzos*. These the Papago accepted according to their own pattern. It is possible that they simply turned the cattle loose and hunted them much as they had always hunted deer.[1] At any rate, for years there were semiwild cattle in the southern and eastern parts of what is now the Papago Reservation. The wheat and legumes fitted more naturally into the Papago pattern. They were planted in winter in the same fields used in summer for corn, so that there were now two growing seasons instead of one, which somewhat regularized the food supply. 177

Horses were very useful, easing the difficulty of the semiannual treks from mountain to valley and return and shortening the traveling time between villages. However, like many other tribes, the Papago attached to the horse a value quite out of proportion to its usefulness, and ownership of horses became a source of prestige. Horses and cattle were individually owned, in contrast to land, to which an individual had a right only while he was using it. 231 422

1. Ruth Underhill, "Acculturation at the Papago Village of Santa Rosa," p. 12. In contrast, a group of Indians in northern Mexico closely related to the Papago, who were completely "mission-bred," used white methods of handling stock; yet they violently resisted white encroachments, even to the point of bloody revolt.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

231 422 Thus the concept of individual ownership began to infiltrate established concepts of use-ownership by the group.

231 177 Horses also made possible further contacts with white ways. When crops failed in Papaguería, the Papago of the southern villages often rode down into Mexico to work for ranchers. There they learned something of white methods of livestock care but, more important, were introduced to the idea of working for pay. Payment was always in kind—seed, knives, or other necessities—but the situation was quite different from co-operative labor for group subsistence. People in the northern villages who worked for the Pima Indians, whose irrigated fields produced plentiful harvests, were paid in grain.

177 Thus, well into the twentieth century, Papago ways of making a living remained fundamentally unchanged. The Desert People became familiar with the white man's use of domesticated animals, his grains, and his traditions of individual ownership and paid labor; but these things did not violently disturb their way of life. Papago life went on, little changed from its course during the last three hundred years.

THE RESERVATION ECONOMY

177 With the establishment of the Reservation in 1917, and particularly with the change in Indian Service policy in 1933, the shape of things began to change in Papaguería. In the shift from an economy of only semisedentary farming with a few half-wild cattle to one of agriculture, livestock, and wage labor, the government has played a leading role.

The improvements necessary for this shift have been made or supervised by the Indian Resources Branch of the Agency staff, consisting of the Soil and Moisture Control, Forestry and Grazing, and Extension departments, and by the Engineering Branch, including Roads, Irrigation, and Construction and Maintenance departments. Their job is to show the Papago how to utilize his own limited resources most efficiently and to assist him in developing new ones.

177 491 The building and improvement of roads and trails have been important contributions to Reservation economy. From 1933 until 1943, seventy miles of primary road and forty miles of secondary road have been constructed by the Roads Division. The CCC constructed nearly two hundred miles of truck trails. But, according to Agency estimates, less than half of the needed roads have been built, and thirteen of the thirty-six villages of more than fifty inhabitants have no roads.

177 312 To improve the water resources of the Reservation, the government drilled deep wells at many villages, thus assuring a year-round water supply and

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

596 464 seldom asked to do so, but neglect of this obligation soon becomes known, and the offender is severely censured by persons outside the household.

423 428 596 Just as each family member does his share toward maintaining the group, so each has an interest in the means of subsistence. As previously noted, all land belongs to the tribe, and families are allowed to use as much as they need on assignment by the village or district council. Fields ordinarily continue to be used by the same family after the death of its head. All the sons inherit equally, sometimes without division. Thus, ideally, all family members, even though they are not living with the group, are entitled to use these fields as needed, but nowadays there are occasional difficulties when absent members wish to return to the land.

422 428 Cattle and horses are individually owned, although those belonging to various members of the family are usually herded together. Each family has its own brand, some small difference in the mark designating individual ownership. The head of the house may give certain animals to each of his children as they grow up, but on his death the main herd usually goes to the new head of the house unless other arrangements had been made. The tribal code of laws has provisions for wills after the white fashion, and a dispute over inheritance can be brought before the tribal court if no amicable settlement can be made otherwise.

231 868 [181] The strong attachment of the Papago to their fields doubtless dates from tribal prehistory, but cattle and horses have also become highly important since their acquisition from whites. The active life of many a Papago man centers in his horses and cattle, and they are the first interest of all little boys. In early childhood a boy begins to swing a rope and lasso stumps, piles of bedding, chickens, and dogs. He runs at a gallop, patting himself as he would a horse, or seizes a stick and canters off. Later he learns to ride, drive the horses to water, and take the reins of the family wagon. He breathes in the excitement of roping and throwing and learns to distinguish brands. Very early he knows which animals in the family herd belong to him, and he sells a steer in his turn when the family needs money. Finally, he is allowed to take part in roundups, to sleep out with the men, to listen to stories around the campfire under the clear stars. He is particularly proud of his horses; he knows that people will regard him with respect because he owns them.

231 Horses, rather than cattle, are the prestige animals. They are often of little economic value, at least in the numbers now owned by the Papago, for many more are kept than can be used in farm and range work, and a recent epidemic of dourine has prevented the sale of horses for any use but slaughter. A Papago does not ordinarily know exactly how many head of cattle he has, but he

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

562 in fact, the "boss" of the household and gives her husband as well as her child his portion of food. She is systematic, while the man, in whom the characteristics of the hunter still survive, has little or no order. Her vigilant eyes look after everything and she is consulted in all transactions. The dogs follow the woman and be- [522] long to her, the husband rarely speaking to them.

581 Sometimes a young man will marry a woman more than old enough to be his mother since, under the changed conditions of the tribe, many of the young fellows do not know how to take care of themselves. He may work for an elderly woman who owns cattle and behave so much to her satisfaction that marriage results, and women have in this way been known to make manly men out of flippant youngsters. The children are treated [855] kindly by the parents and are kind to each other.

584 Formerly a bamboo flute was played by a young [534] man, especially in the evening, to attract the attention of a girl, though the ultimate choice of a partner rested with his father and mother. Up to recent times the sons were obedient to their parents and readily consented to marry the girls picked out for them. A son was instructed how to behave in order to find favor with a nice girl with whom appearances weigh little compared to the noble qualities of being a good hunter, not lazy, and an efficient agriculturist. It is the girl's father who makes the first advances in a matrimonial venture. He talks the matter over with the father of the boy who, however, sometimes may decline. But if the father is able to say that his son is willing, the latter betakes him-

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quickly grew up at such locations as Quijotoa (Covered Wells), Alamo, and San Antone (formerly Weldon, with a population said to have reached 11,000 at one time). One by one the mines were worked out or failed, and although the mining communities were rapidly deserted, the improvements to the water supply enabled Papagos to occupy the locations advantageously wherever elaborate well machinery was not needed. [312] [311]

After the Civil War, the combination of growing Papago herds and numerous ranches established by white settlers resulted in substantial increase in the stock grazed in the area now included in the Papago Reservation. Papago "depredations" in the 1890's caused some ranchers to abandon the area, their losses being alleged to have been $300,000 in stock and improvements. Lumholtz reported in 1909 that several Papago stock men had herds of about 200 cattle and 50 horses, in excellent condition, in the western slopes of the Baboquivari Range. Nevertheless, Indian cattlemen and farmers were not secure in their land and numerous large tracts were held by non-Indians. 175 233 [648] [422]

A complete history of the establishment of the three Papago reservations is provided by a Bureau of Indian Affairs report (1944): 175 657 13 [14]

> "The first reservation for the Papago Indians was established at San Xavier on July 1, 1874, and the second at Gila Bend on December 12, 1882.... An Executive Order of June 17, 1909, reduced the size of the Gila Bend Reservation.

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an irreducible minimum, cattle are brought to a state bordering on starvation. Sometimes quite a number die. It is at this time that the cattle can be seen eating the choya (cholla) with its protection of numberless spines which attach themselves to the mouth, nose and even ears and must be carried around until brushed off. The choya has considerable water and food value if it could be eaten."

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Clotts' figures not only indicate the intensity of development of stock raising, but, as shown on Map 7, I/1 make clear its general distribution on the reservation. There is a conspicuous concentration along the Vamori and Santa Rosa washes, with very little development in the northeast and northwest areas. The map is based on the residence of owners, however, and thus does not show where the cattle are actually grazed. Vamori owners, for example, are known to have had large numbers of cattle in the foothills of the nearby Baboquivari Mountains.

Probably the only reliable estimate of the number of cattle held by the Papago prior to 1950 is given by Gwyneth Harrington for 1937. In that year, with the help of Indian informants, she secured the number of cattle held by owners in each of the villages of the Baboquivari and Chukut Kuk districts. The total for Baboquivari was 5,100 head, and for Chukut Kuk, 5,880, making a total for the two districts of 10,980. Comparing these figures with estimates made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the other districts of the reservation she estimated that 44.9 per cent of all Papago

●[422]

I/1 [see map on p. 98- B1, B2/4 and B3 -- Analyst]

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Table 12. Cattle and Horses Grazed on the Papago Reservations, 1949 and 1959 as Reported by the Bureau of Indian Affairs

Reservation and Year	Acres in Range	Total Animal Units	Acres Per Animal Unit
Sells			
1949	2,761,471	21,626	127
1959	2,755,686	17,487	158
San Xavier			
1949	69,232	899	77
1959	69,232	682	101
Gila Bend			
1949	10,172	235	43
1959	10,195	70	145
Totals			
1949	2,840,875	22,760	125
1959	2,835,113	18,239	155

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[422]
[312]

The present distribution of cattle and horses on the reservation shows that livestock ownership is spread much more evenly over the reservation than formerly. A probable explanation for this modified distribution is the far larger number of wells now available, permitting the running of cattle in areas formerly unusable. This is a more advantageous use of the reservation resources, of course, since it permits less intensive grazing of each location and less damage to grass cover. A comparison of the grazing units calculated from Clotts' 1914 data (Table 11)[1] with current figures (Table 12) shows the nature of the change in cattle distribution. There are now increased numbers of

[1] [See P. 72--ANALYST]

cattle in the Schuk Toak and Hickiwan districts. Other districts, on the whole, are running far fewer numbers of livestock than in 1914. A slight decrease is shown for the number of cattle in the Baboquivari and Chukut Kuk districts between 1914 and 1962 where cattle growers now own about 29 percent of all cattle on the reservation (See Map 7). It will be recalled that growers in these two districts held about 45 percent of all reservation cattle in 1937.

In attempting to summarize the present extent and importance of stock raising on the Papago Reservation, more detailed data are available than for the past, but an accurate count of the numbers of cattle and horses on the reservation is still not available. However, increased cooperation of tribal leaders and the establishment of cattle associations (in San Xavier, Pisinimo, Hickiwan, Gu Achi, Sif Oidak, and Baboquivari districts) is making it possible to obtain increasingly dependable records.

The 1962 record of grazing units, and the "authorized carrying capacity" of the main reservation are shown in Table 13. In regard to capacity of the range, it should be pointed out that this was established in 1944 on the basis of work which was conducted some years earlier.

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Table 13. The Distribution of Stock Units on the Main Reservation in 1962 Compared with the Estimated Carrying Capacity

District	Stock Unit Capacity	Stock Units	Cattle	Horses
Baboquivari	1,780	2,261	1,639	498
Chukut Kuk	1,064	2,440*	1,590	680
Gu Achi	1,000	1,532*	1,000	426
Gu Ve	469	1,085*	610	380
Hickiwan	939	2,062*	1,000	850
Pisinimo	1,003	1,980	1,470	408
Schuk Toak	2,102	1,799*	900	560
Sells	1,067	2,022*	1,210	690
Sif Oidak	880	861	464	318
Totals	10,304	16,070	10,082	4,770

[115]
[128] Robert Roether, one of the major cattle buyers on the reservation, is of the opinion that the above estimates are too low for cattle and too high for horses.

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422 Fully as important as the number of cattle and horses grazed, is their ownership. All cattle on the reservation are owned by Indians and, except for 200 head in a tribal herd, ownership is by individuals and families. No actual records are kept of individual holdings, although the tribal office keeps a record of sales by individuals. The Bureau of Indian Affairs now estimates that at least seven families have from 500 to 600 head of cattle each, that about ten families have 100 to 150 head, and that most families have about ten head or less. The number of individuals and

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* Because no livestock count figures are available, these numbers are estimated.

families that hold cattle on the three reservations has been estimated at between 400 and 500. Metzler summarizes the economy of stock raising as follows (Metzler, 1959, p. 57):

> "The function of cattle for most families is the same as that of a reserve account in a bank. The cattle are not sold until other sources of income have been exhausted, then enough cattle are marketed to meet cash needs of the family until other sources of income again become available. When they have no more cattle they will start to sell off their horses."

It should be added that cattle raising is more than merely an economic enterprise. The Papago and their cattle may be compared to the Navajo and their sheep. In both cases a way of life has been developed which becomes relatively meaningless without livestock and the work of caring for animals on the open range in isolated desert areas.

The meaning of stock raising in the total economy of Papago family life can be assessed with fair accuracy because of the records that must be kept in connection with the tribal assessment of a 3 per cent tax on the value of all livestock sold from the reservation. In 1962 the tribe collected a total of $19,631.90 in taxes on a gross Indian income of $654,397 from stock sales. For a number of years sales have totalled about this amount, occasionally running higher. Owning from one to ten head of stock, most families have incomes of less than $400 per year from ranching. Probably no more than 40 families, according to Metzler, depend entirely on cattle sales for their yearly income. In keeping

233 with this estimate Robert Roether, reservation cattle buyer,
433 is of the opinion that from 25 to 30 families own more than
434 100 head of breeding cows. Both of the above estimates are
422 higher than the estimate provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

178 Agriculture. Life on the Papago reservations has
433 always depended, and still depends, upon multiple sources of family subsistence and income. The original pattern was a combination of hunting, gathering, and flood water farming. After 1700, hunting and gathering gradually gave way to cattle raising which, in combination with flood water farming, provided subsistence and some cash income. Farming is now declining and there is being established a new combination: cattle raising and wage work.

241 Flood water farming still persists, however, in spite of periodic drought, back-breaking work, and low
[462] yields. Wherever it occurs today it is usually an activity
[887] of older men who raise a small plot of corn, beans, squash,
[434] and sometimes winter wheat, to supplement their income from
[182] cattle, thus making it possible to live on the reservation the year around and according to the traditional Papago way of life.

Cash crop or commercial farming, as will be seen later, have not appealed to the Papago since competition from non-Indian farmers and the lack of running water require

433 flooding and grasshoppers is won. This subsistence
24 scale, risky enterprise cannot long compete against
[46] the surplus-over-subsistence earned in the cotton
fields.

The crops Desert People working in the 1950 cotton harvest did plant on the reserves were not even on a subsistence scale. The few beans or squash, the patch of melons they actually planted were no more than a supplement at most.

464 Clearly an important reason Papagos sell their la-
471 bor is that a high proportion do not even have flood
423 farms where they could try to farm if they wished to. Probably nearly half the Desert People picking cotton in 1950 had no fields.[1]

233 For Papagos who cannot farm, there is still a
433 possibility of raising cattle. However, xerophytic
[137] desert vegetation is not particularly well suited to
[132] fattening cattle--thorns don't make fat. Rainfall on reserve lands is very scanty, and good stands of grass are small and undependable.

231 Among Papago cotton pickers of 1950, nearly half
422 the families owned cattle.[2] However, some of them actually had only 1 cow, and the average number of head owned by each family was only a dozen.[3]

One difficulty for Papago cattlemen is that horses are kept by most families, taking up range that could support more beef animals. These horses are not especially good stock--no one raises horses for export.
[492] but the Desert People are still mainly in the pre-
[493] automotive age of transportation. If they don't walk, they generally must ride horseback or in a wagon pulled by horses. Over three-fourths of Papago cotton pickers in 1950 owned horses.[4] And each of these families kept
[69] 6 or 7 horses.[5] If it were not for an ordinance of the
[46] Papago Tribal Council restricting each family to not more than 10 head of horses, horse population of the reserved lands would undoubtedly be much higher.

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[1] 139 families gave information. 80 had their own fields, or 61%. (Only 2 were in irrigated projects, 5%) Fathers of 5 younger men had flood fields, 8%. So 41% had no flood fields in their extended family.
[2] 219 families of 40 questions owned cattle, 47½%.
[3] 88 families giving information owned 96 head, averaging 12 per family.
[4] 31 families of 40 questioned owned horses, 77½%.
[5] 21 families giving data owned 138, averaging 6.6 each.

As it is, the horses kept by each family seem to run just slightly under the number allowed on permits assigned by the Council. Among families picking cotton, the average permit was for 7 horses.[1]

Papago harvest hands can go off and leave unplanted fields without worrying. But the laborer with cattle or horses has a problem. Three-fourths of the pickers with animals in 1950 left them in the care of some relative--a brother, son, father, or uncle.[2] This fact is apparently one main reason for members of the Papago extended family remaining on the reserves while others go off to pick cotton. Along with the pattern of leaving children with their grandparents so they can continue uninterrupted in Indian Bureau schools, it illustrates the continuing economic function of the Papago extended family. Although the biological family is the main unit working for wages, in the wider economic picture it is the extended family which is the functioning unit.

The laborers who do not leave their animals in someone's care simply let them run loose on the reserve or occasionally a family will be able to bring its horses to a labor camp.

On the reserved lands themselves, the labor market is relatively restricted. Employers are limited to the U. S. Indian Bureau (hiring over 100 Desert People)[3] the Papago Tribe (hiring half a dozen Papagos full time) the state and county highway departments, trading posts, and mines. These jobs generally require some degree of skill and training, and are filled by those of the Desert People who have had more educational opportunities. A high proportion of these employees are Presbyterians because of the emphasis Papago converts place upon education, and good quality of denomination schools.

Many cotton harvesters recognize these fundamental reasons for their working. When they expressed their reasons for coming to the fields to labor, they said they came because "We don't have any fields," or "I didn't have a job," (the most frequent reply). Or some recognized the cause, but thought in the old mental paths of the Desert People: "There hasn't been any rain."

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[1] 13 of the families giving data had permits for 91 head.
[2] 9 of 12 families giving information did.
[3] Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 87.